

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO CINCLANT NORFOLK VA
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USNMR SHAPE BE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 NATO 08157

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, MNUC, NPG

SUBJECT: NATO DEFENSE INITIATIVES: TNF MODERNIZATION

SUMMARY: IN SETTING UP THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM,
THE US, WITH ALLIED AGREEMENT, SEPARATED THEATER NUCLEAR
FORCE (TNF) MODERNIZATION FROM THE OTHER NATO DEFENSE
INITIATIVES. WE SEE THE TNF INITIATIVE HAVING SUBSTAN-
TIALY DISTINCT ORGANIZATIONAL AND SUBSTANTIVE FEATURES,
WITH AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL OBJECTIVE OF DEMONSTRATING
A US COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN A CREDIBLE
TNF POSTURE IN EUROPE. WE BELIEVE IT WILL BE IMPORTANT
TO INVOLVE THE ALLIES AND NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES
DIRECTLY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TNF PROGRAM FOLLOWING
CIRCULATION OF THE US OUTLINE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF
SEPTEMBER. IT WILL ALSO BE NECESSARY TO WORK OUT
APPROACHES FOR DEALING WITH CURRENT ISSUES SUCH AS CRUISE
MISSILES AND ENHANCED RADIATION WEAPONS, WHICH WILL ARISE
IN CONNECTION WITH THE TNF PROGRAM. WE WILL COMMENT ON
THIS SUBJECT BY SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

1. IN DEVELOPING THE US OUTLINE FOR A LONG-TERM DEFENSE

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PROGRAM (LTDP) FOR THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES, WE BELIEVE
WASHINGTON SHOULD GIVE CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE BROAD
OBJECTIVES WHICH THIS INITIATIVE CAN SERVE IN NATO. WE
SEE THE TNF INITIATIVE AS SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM
THE OTHER INITIATIVES IN THE LTDP BECAUSE OF THE HIGHLY
POLITICAL CHARACTER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN NATO AND BECAUSE
OF CONSTRAINTS ASSOCIATED WITH INVOLVING THE ALLIES IN US

LONG-TERM NUCLEAR FORCE PLANNING.

2. THE TNF INITIATIVE SHOULD CLEARLY SERVE AS A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE. IN THE BROADEST SENSE, THE INITIATIVE SHOULD DEMONSTRATE THE CONTINUING US COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN A CREDIBLE NUCLEAR POSTURE IN EUROPE, IN PARALLEL WITH THE NECESSARY PRIORITY IN EFFORT AND RESOURCES WHICH MUST BE DEVOTED TO IMPROVING NATO'S CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE. THE PAST TWO YEARS' REVIEW IN THE NPG OF NATO'S THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE POSTURE HAS LAID THE GROUND WORK. THAT REVIEW PRODUCED BROAD OBJECTIVES FOR TNF; THE CURRENT INITIATIVE SHOULD MOVE THE EXERCISE FORWARD BY RELATING THESE OBJECTIVES TO A FRAMEWORK, PROJECTED INTO THE FUTURE, FOR SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TNF POSTURE. BY DIRECTLY INVOLVING THE ALLIES IN THIS PROCESS, WE CAN DEVELOP A COMMON APPRECIATION OF WHERE WE ARE HEADED, BUILD SUPPORT FOR IMPROVEMENTS (PARTICULARLY THOSE, SUCH AS WARHEADS, WHICH ARE DEVELOPED UNILATERALLY BY THE US), AND IDENTIFY SPECIFIC AREAS WHICH REQUIRE DIRECT ALLIED CONTRIBUTION AND PARTICIPATION. THE INITIATIVE MIGHT ALSO SERVE TO DAMPEN PRESSURES IN, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NETHERLANDS TO REDUCE ITS NATO NUCLEAR ROLE IN THE FUTURE.

3. WE RECOGNIZE THAT IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO APPLY WITH EQUAL PRECISION TO TNF THE CRITERIA ESTABLISHED FOR
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THE OTHER LONG-TERM DEFENSE INITIATIVES. NONETHELESS, WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DEVISE A GENERAL APPROACH WHICH WOULD INCLUDE SOME RELAXATION OF US CONSTRAINTS ON PROVISION OF NUCLEAR INFORMATION WHILE STILL ADEQUATELY PROTECTING US DECISION-MAKING PREROGATIVES.

4. IN THE NPG THE 1976 US PAPER ON TNF IMPROVEMENTS ADDRESSED THE BROAD RATIONALE FOR TNF. WE BELIEVE THE CURRENT INITIATIVE SHOULD BE LESS COMPREHENSIVE, WITH EMPHASIS ON SELECTION OF KEY FORCE POSTURE ISSUES WHICH THE US WANTS TO PUSH AND WHICH NATO CAN REASONABLY ADDRESS. THE PHASE III PROJECT CAN FOCUS ON BROADER PHILOSOPHICAL AND EMPLOYMENT QUESTIONS, ADVANCING IN PARALLEL WITH THE TNF LONG-TERM INITIATIVE AND INTERACTING WITH IT VIA MUTUAL REINFORCEMENT.

5. IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO DEVISE METHODS FOR FULLY INVOLVING THE ALLIES AND THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TNF PROGRAM. ALTHOUGH IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR THIS PURPOSE UNTIL THE US OUTLINE BECOMES AVAILABLE, WE BELIEVE THAT, IN GENERAL, MULTILATERAL ACTIONS FOLLOWING CIRCULATION AND REVIEW OF THE US OUTLINE SHOULD INVOLVE, WHERE

FEASIBLE, DIRECT PARTICIPATION BY ALLIED AUTHORITIES FROM CAPITALS AND FROM THE NATO MILITARY STAFFS. IT MAY PROVE DESIRABLE TO ESTABLISH SUB-GROUPS WITH SUCH COMPOSITION TO ADDRESS SPECIFIC SEGMENTS OF THE US OUTLINED PROGRAM, AND TO ENGAGE THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES DIRECTLY. AT APPROPRIATE POINTS ALONG THE WAY, WE SHOULD INVOLVE THE NPG PERMREPS IN REVIEW OF PROGRESS AND OF STUDY RESULTS, IN PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION BY NPG MINISTERS. IN THIS SENSE, WE SEE THE TNF INITIATIVE AS BEING QUITE DIFFERENT ORGANIZATIONALLY FROM THE OTHER LONG-TERM INITIATIVES.

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IN PRACTICE, WE BELIEVE THE US COULD SERVE AS DE FACTO CHAIRMAN OF THE OVERALL EFFORT. WORK SHOULD PROCEED UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE NPG, WHICH SHOULD BE RESPONSIVE DIRECTLY TO THE DPC, WITHOUT INTERVENING STEPS IN THE EWG.

6. THE PRESENT SCHEDULE FOR CIRCULATING THE US OUTLINE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF SEPTEMBER WILL BRING THE TNF INITIATIVE BEFORE THE ALLIES AT A TIME WHEN SEVERAL DIFFICULT AND SENSITIVE ISSUES ARE IN ACTIVE PLAY, E.G., CRUISE MISSILES AND ENHANCED RADIATION WEAPONS. WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE ALLIES WILL EXPECT THESE ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED IN THE THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE INITIATIVE; THE ABSENCE OF SUCH ISSUES COULD MANIFESTLY UNDERMINE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE PROGRAM. WE BELIEVE IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO HANDLING SUCH ISSUES IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE TNF PROGRAM AND OTHER

SEPARATE CONSULTATIVE ACTIONS. WE WILL COMMENT ON THIS
SUBJECT BY SEPTEL. GLITMAN

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